[P. 1]

SUMMARY

On the assumption that a woman's physical and mental condition at childbirth is a product of her life-long daily habits and ideas as well as any particular injunctions set up to insure well-being in pregnancy and parturition, the cultural scene was searched to ascertain all possible relevancies.

The farmers of Bang Chan lived in a tropical, rice-growing terrain, annually flooded by the monsoon run-off. Food was plentiful even if cash was not. Except for better housing and equipment, and a greater enjoyment of market novelties, the rich lived much like the poor. The work in the fields by women paralleled that by men. Sharp physical demands, especially at planting and harvest, made them muscular.

At marriage the partners were fully mature and no woman was married against her wishes. The birth of a child was welcomed as leading to higher personal, social, and economic status.

The underlying concepts which explain why the food and other injunctions, both pre-natal and post-partum, and the ritual behavior took their particular forms, are explained.

The human body, harboring multiple immaterial souls, was seen as composed of earth, fire, water, and wind. Illness was caused by intrusive disruption of these four elements, or by soul loss. Food and medicines had properties which could be used to restore balance in the elements. The traditional curers or exorcisers had magical and herbal remedies obtained ritually from a teacher. Since Buddhist phrasings, often read from old texts in weekly sermons, molded Bang Chan's conception of life, the ultimate cause of health or illness was the presence or absence of merit. This determined one's kam (karma), the balance sheet of virtuous actions which one added to, or reduced by sinning throughout successive existences over eons of time.

The Buddhist cosmic view of individuals as separate autonomous beings brought it about that help was the only dynamic relationship possible between people. The bonds established by helping people, on this earth, especially in the tasks of feeding priests, lasted on into successive incarnations. Thus, meritorious people met again and might marry again. Families had continuity over time, and babies were born into the "right"

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Diet in Body Maintenance and Curing

261 262 753 Because food created fire, the daily diet could be a source of illness or a therapeutic means. Every food had known properties for heating or cooling, and for other effects as well. Guava fruit, alcohol, and turtle or cobra curry were heating. Eggs were cooling. Depending on the occasion, ice and iced concoctions were over-heating or over-cooling. They were always "dangerous during menstruation." Banana varied according to the variety: kluai hŏm (fragrant banana) was undesirably cooling and caused either diarrhea or constipation (Hauck, 1959:27); kluai nam wā was less deleterious (salāng) while kluai nam was good for the sick or for parturients (Boonlong).

252 262 [758] [846] Properties in food changed in cooking. Boiling made rice "ripe" (auk) and so available as nourishment (Anuman Rajadhon:77). Even the method of cooking varied the properties. For the sick and for parturients, the banana variety called kluai hak auk was good if baked, but not if cooked in syrup (Boonlong).

262 753 827 Some foods were "incompatible" with, and so aggravated, certain illnesses. Air-borne food in the form of smell was incompatible with, and compounded, a condition of wind excess. Death or blindness ensued. On the other hand, asafetida might be tied to the wrist of a new-born baby so that the smell, an established carminative, might cure the excess wind in his stomach manifested as flatulence.

262 [774] [782] Beneficial foods were encouraged. Of all these none surpassed rice, the main sustenance of the body, "the only true food" (Yong Chutima, in Hauck, 1959:27) and source of "strength" to the farmer. Rice was a safe food. It never disturbed elements. Eating rice, as compared with meat, had no overtone of taking life. One could eat one's fill without any sin. Most of all, rice nourished the human khwan, for each grain contained a part of the khwan of the divine Rice Mother. Furthermore, any food offered ritually to a spirit or to make merit acquired strengthening properties, and was afterwards given to priests, children, or to the sick.

[776] Foods with known dangers were avoided. "Kluai tānī banana, a variety full of seeds, was never eaten because it contained a female ghost (phī)." Jackfruit was avoided by lactating women as a direct source of wind-excess. Fruit in general was not dangerous but "did not give enough strength for a rice farmer. It was all right for an orchardist."

magical formulae and incantations (khāthā cf. Textor 1960:80-88; 67-79). It was one of the branches of occultism (saiyasāt [McF. 1940:895]), the ancient science which sought by magical means to control the forces of the heavens and of earth and to manipulate them in behalf of man's interests and enterprises, whether economic, aesthetic, personal, or other. Some of the other branches were dancing, singing, the agricultural rites, boxing, boat- and house-building, and the life-cycle rites. This powerful wisdom was contained in sacred books at the Buddhist temple where it passed, usually orally, from priest to priest. It could be transmitted away from the temple between men, if they had once been ordained. Its transmission was controlled by ritual teacher-pupil relations, and its use by formal request through presentation of a sacred offering, the khwan khāo (cf. Dūan's Tale p.44). Unauthorized magic did not work because it was not validated by its supernatural discoverer; improper ritual behavior incurred strong supernatural sanctions. Instruction in magic and its use was free except for the token offerings and coin in the khwan khāo. The only rigid obligation was a public annual homage-to-the-teacher ritual (wai khrū).

The persons authorized to handle any part of saiyasāt were called mō. In the context of medicine, mō was translated "doctor." To keep the modern and ancient traditions separate, we shall use the Thai word "mō" throughout this paper for the practitioner of the ancient occult art, reserving the word "doctor" for physicians trained in modern medicine.

The field of medicine was split into categories or specialties. There were, for instance, the exorcisers of spirits or disease objects (mō phī), and the curers (mō raksā) who made up decoctions particularly for element imbalances. Astrologist-foretellers (mō dū) analysed disturbances due to astral confluences; soul-ceremonialists (mō khwan) carried on the khwan-strengthening rites; and the mō sanē specialized in love and hate magic. On a lower plane were masseurs (mō nūat) and midwives (mō tamyae). No specialist could operate in the field of another unless he had formally acquired that specialty. No limits, though, were set on the number of specialties a person might acquire so that all their lives, mō were open to and seeking new knowledge by pilgrimage, discussion, or visit to a Chinese or modern druggist. The major curing specialties were only in the hands of males, but men and women both practiced the minor branches of midwifery and massaging.[19]

19. A woman medium (khonsong) who cured when possessed by the spirit of a male mō was not entitled to be called mō. Her special circumstances are discussed in "Magic and Maturity."

Influences on Health

In Bang Chan, a discussion of sickness and health merely in terms of element balance would be true but insufficient, or even superficial. After all, whether manipulated by oneself or by a professional curer, elements could only be controlled within certain limits. Far deeper questions were posed, probing the ultimate nature of health, life, and death. What determined the particular proportions of a person's 4 elements with which he had been born, and whether he had, say, a preponderance of wood from Jupiter or gold from Venus? The immediate answer of astrological confluences on the date of birth would be true, for each day had its own qualities and aspects, but it was not enough. Why had he been born on that date to that set of governing factors? In life, why did one person meet the circumstances that created illness, while another lived in glorious health? The answers to these questions must be sought in the Buddhist moral and cosmic beliefs.

The Buddhist universe operated on a principle of immutable law. Each person received his just due, suffering for his own sins, enjoying reward for his virtue. There was no personified deity to help, forgive, or blame. Moreover, attachments were the cause of sorrow. Because existence was fraught with desires, all life was basically painful. Even flashes of happiness by their cessation caused sorrow.

In this universe and on this earth, individuals, each a unique and independent entity, were born to live and die, over and over again, throughout eons of time. They bore no relation to each other. Separate and autonomous, each was in charge of his own destiny. All beings formed a single grand scale of existence from demons in hell, through such lowly creatures as worms and insects, upward through dogs, cats, buffaloes, and elephants to mankind, then on up to angels and gods in the last paradises before the peace of Nipphān (Nirvana).

The insight of the Buddha showed the way to break the sorrowful eternal cycle of rebirth and reach Nipphān. The Buddha perceived that meritorious behavior caused one to progress up this ladder of existence toward freedom from incarnation. In each life merit (bun) could be accumulated by compassionate behavior: caring for priests, and being kind and generous to persons less able to care for themselves. With merit one's next life was happier and freer of restrictions. A dog had more merit than a worm, a buffalo than a dog.

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775 Man was higher on the scale than woman.[20] Progress toward
[562] Nipphan was not assured but had to be earned. With sinful behavior a person might be catapulted back to being a beast. He who stole would "be born and die 500 times before he could even grow up." Almost everyone had to be sent to purgatory
[776] where demons carried on tortures until he had suffered enough to be released for rebirth. The evil spirits (phī) that wandered frighteningly in Bang Chan were part of the legions whose job was to increase deserved suffering on this earth.

771 The people of Bang Chan felt they could discern even
• 782 of themselves who was meritful and who was not according to
828 human circumstances, constitution, and behavior. A meritorious person was healthy, happy, and successful in all undertakings. He enjoyed good health and long life, a kindly personality, many fine children, wealth, high status,
[775] intelligence, and luck. Astrologically, he was born on a day of good confluences, of gold and auspicious signs. He who lacked merit, because of sins committed perhaps many ages ago, was born on an unfortunate day. He suffered early death,
[753] deformities, unhappiness, poverty, and had a cruel nature. Illness, whether supernatural or natural, whether induced by wind or sorcery or what, struck as part of the suffering brought on by former sin. It was accepted in the conviction that whoever suffered had brought it on himself. When merit ran out, or when sin cancelled out and then exceeded one's merit, suffering and premature death occurred, despite all human efforts. Because of the prevalence of illness and of life's difficulties, major and minor, no one, no matter how outwardly fortunate and so evidently meritorious, had at this earthly level of existence enough merit to escape some suffering and frustration. By the same token, though, no person was without hope. By making merit or by suffering in this life, existence would be happier in the next. The making of merit was in the forefront of daily conscious effort and even conversations of the people of Bang Chan.

751 The long-range protection against all illness was to
784 live virtuously and make merit. However, to guard against
[577] temporary supernatural intrusions, everyone possessed and
[782] usually wore Buddha lockets and other amulets. Some
[304] underwent tatooing, men having Cambodian or other figures, women, 2 small dots tatooed on the torso under the arm.

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20. Men had achieved greater "other-worldliness" while women were more bound by the phenomena of the flesh (cf. Kirsch, 1961).

Chapter III

PREGNANCY AND PARTURITION

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Conception

Conception occurred when a khwan-soul flew into the womb of a woman during sexual intercourse. "A father and a mother are equally important because there is no birth in the world without both. An infant is the product of both sexes," said a priest in a Bang Chan sermon.[21]

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The little being in the womb from the moment of conception was a specific individual who had lived many times before, meritful or sinful according to its previous actions. Desire for rebirth was in itself evidence of inadequate merit to effect release from incarnation. Though this life was to some extent a fresh start, his character (nisai) and heart (čhai) were already largely formed through his store of merit and ingrained habit from former existences.[22]

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21. The teachings of the Buddha state: "Rebirth takes place when a father and a mother come together, and it is the mother's period, and the one to be born is present" (Suriyabongse:20).

22. He bore with him the last ideas spoken to him at his most recent death. The Visuddhi-Magga tells how this carry-over occurs. One of the categories of karma, was the "close at hand, karma remembered at the point of death [which] springs up with [a person] in rebirth" (Warren:246). As King Mongkut lay dying, everyone in the room called out "arahat!" in his ear incessantly so that by "remembering it at the point of death" he might be reborn an Arahat (E.R.E. "Siam": 487). Another pertinent category of karma was the "habitual": "karma that has become habitual through frequent repetition. This brings on rebirth when [other] forms are absent" (Warren:246). Here is the basis for the inborn character, heart and ingrained habit (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1959, and the section below on "Habit" (khoei).

843 She was "more sensitive, tender, and delicate," and more vulnerable to outside influences, both good and bad. For her goal of nourishing a beautiful child, her greater sensitivity gave her the means. Because of the physical unity of mother and child, her every sight, sound, touch, taste or smell, every thought and action reacted on the child. Out of compassion she sought out beautiful sights and avoided ugly ones; she behaved virtuously and tenderly. As the tonsure-chant put it:

> "A child's skin is as soft as cotton. His mother dares not eat hot-tasting foods lest they burn this tender skin and make him suffer. Awake or asleep, she is careful in sitting and reclining lest he be hurt inside. She is merciful, and sensitive for her child. His pain is like that of a tiny helpless bird being clubbed by savage hunters. She will not taste incompatible foods, nor the sweet nor the peppery, even though she thirsts for them...." (S.S.).

She took every opportunity to associate herself with words or actions which implied success in situations analogous to parturition. For instance, in order that her child would "come out" more easily she cooked and ate a lotus bud, carried by monks and chanted over, especially those used at the termination of Buddhist Lent, when the monks "came out" (ɔ̄k) of their sequestration (Textor:169-170).

The father, too, shared in the responsibility, for it took both a father and a mother to bring forth a child. Quarrels were avoided for they made for a quarrelsome child. A man was particularly enjoined to help by keeping his wife in a happy mood. The father's industriousness in collecting wood for his wife's post-partum fire made for an industrious child. As a good example for the child and for their own "merit," a pregnant woman and her husband chanted prayers (mon;skt:mantra) at night together before retiring. Thus their child would be "easy to raise" (Textor 1960:87).

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Sometimes these aberrancies were viewed as desirable sources of supernatural power, but on other occasions, they were seen as a sign of demerit, caused embarrassment, and were suffocated at once (if alive), and buried. 845 847

If a woman died pregnant, her body was at once brought to the temple where the unborn child was removed surgically. The usual solacing sermon, rites "to lead the deceased to live in her right place in the next world," and cremation took place, with the fetus laid beside its mother so that it "would come out normally." The mother and child were separated to prevent a ghost which was double-powered. No prayers were chanted at home before exsection "lest they make the power of the spirit stronger." Moreover, any violent or premature death caused an angry ghost. The ghost of a premature child had a heavy load of sin, for its stay in purgatory, where sin was worked off, had been interrupted (Textor:262). An unscrupulous mǒ was eager to get possession of any ghost for use in sorcery, and a double ghost was stronger than any other. Ghosts were obtained by plundering the mortuary chambers of the temple prior to cremation. By feeding (liang) it, a mǒ controlled it. The ghost of a male infant was preferable because it was "stronger than that of a female." In the light of this situation, not only should the body of a pregnant woman never be left alone " so that no one can get at them (sic)," but a pregnant woman herself ought not to be alone.[26] The behavior towards the Rice Goddess, Mother Posop, who was "pregnant" when the grains in the stalk filled out, illuminated many of these attitudes: "Mae Posop feels weak, hungry, and uneasy. She is eager to taste sour and sweet foods. She is a woman and beautiful in her pregnancy." To allay her hunger the 845 766 [775] 845 775 754 775 843 782 [754] 843 782 796

26. In Cambodia, a pregnant woman might be murdered, even by her husband, so that the murderer might gain the malevolent power that possession of her now double soul would afford. (E.R.E. "Cambodia": p.159). This specific statement was not found in Bang Chan but might be part of the shadowy background to local reluctance to leave a pregnant woman alone. [171]

1: Hanks E-5 (1953-1954) 1964 AO7 Central Thai AO7

843 farmers brought to the fields an offering of two kinds of
782 bananas (kluai hŏm and kluai namwâ), sugar cane, taro,
776 young coconut and cakes; and "fresh earth burned and offered with oranges and other kinds of fruit."[27] She was also given the things "dear to women": new clothing, perfume, face-powder, hair lotion and a mirror. In the
843 annual harvest ritual, when some woman (never a man)
776 escorted the Goddess from the field to the rice bin, participation was forbidden to a pregnant woman because
784 "the Goddess-Mother might be jealous of the woman's heightened beauty" and so be malevolent. Also, "being now emotionally weak and easily upset, a woman might be frightened by seeing the Goddess, who, after all, is close to being a spirit (phî).

843 The prominence of food cravings in this traditional
262 description leads to a consideration of diet in pregnancy.

Diet in Pregnancy[28]

As long as everything went well, pregnant women "ate as usual." The underlying premise was that each woman early in childhood had established a regular diet suitable to her individual make-up of elements, and eliminated foods that because they did not agree with her or were disliked, were judged "not compatible." A woman could eat as usual because the ordinary daily foods, rice, coconut, etc., were "safe." The modifications introduced to beautify and protect the mother and baby were made on the basis of the properties and

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27. The goddess was following traditional "defeated by one's pregnancy" (phaethŏng [Mc.F: 598]) symptoms of desiring "sour, salty, or strange things such as burnt earth." Like any woman, her craving for sweets indicated that a heavenly creature was to be born; for fruits, that she would bring forth an animal; for burnt earth, that the god Brahma would be born (Anuman Rajadhon 1961:115-116).

[114] 28. This section does not purport to present a dietary study in modern nutritional terms. Hauck's study (1959) of maternal and child health gives information on foods eaten, craved, disliked, or viewed as "good for" or "not good for" women during child-bearing, and also on illnesses found among pregnant women, including beri-beri, nausea, cramps, and fainting. The data here add to her information on behavior and stress traditional views as to the purpose of the dietary injunctions.

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844 "faked labor pains to hold down her errant husband!" or so a sour mother-in-law said (Hauck,ibid.).

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789 Finally, one day, Dūan felt uncomfortable and decided not to go out to plow. Lek prepared for her hot-tasting medicine. When Song came in at eleven from work, he went to the garden, to the little house of the family's protecting spirit (săn phra phūm), lighted incense and offered flowers, asking that it and the ancestors help his wife and keep away evil ghosts. He also prayed for help of the ancestors. Mī went to ask Sāi not to go far away that day and to ask in what exact direction to push over the woodpile. Sāi replied, "Push it over in the direction the snake lies today, so that Dūan and the wood lie parallel with their heads and its apex in the same direction to the north and east. Never let them be to the south and west." A passing boatman saw the wood go over. "There's news to tell!" he said. "The child is being born!" Dūan thought she ought to send away her little son, but he refused to go, and stayed by his mother the whole time. Song's sister came by for a visit, but stayed to help after getting word to their parents. It was no time for visitors, especially men, but any helpers, male or female, were welcome. Lek prepared the all-important ceremonial gift, the khwan khāo (soul-rice), for the midwife, which validated, and insured the use of, her private magic. She put a bunch of bananas, 7 betel pepper leaves, 7 areca nuts, flowers, incense sticks, a candle, and 20 baht into a bowl filled with dry rice grains. A little later she strung the holy thread around the 4 walls of the house. On each side she attached "yan," (Skr.: yantra). These protective cloths, about 10 inches square with magical letters and drawings, kept away the terrifying phi krasū spirits, seen as lights at night, who, attracted by bad smell and blood, would creep up the housepost, eat Dūan's blood, intestines, and faeces through her anus. Then Mī went again to Sāi to report that "the pain was increasing." These words were the signal to Sāi that it was time for her come.

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As Dūan was to profit from the magic, it was better that she herself hand the midwife the khwan khāo bowl. Sāi lit the incense and offered the bowl in gratitude to the teacher who had given her her magic. She whispered in the direction of Dūan's head, "All good spirits in the high heavens and in the locality, help and do not obstruct at this delivery! Give happiness to mother and baby!" Placing the bowl on a high place to the side of Dūan's head, she said, "My teacher is long since dead, but will hear this request, and will pass the request and the khwan khāo to her teacher, and so on, back all those thousands

846 789 782 Now that the fire was going nicely and Dūan was "ready to warm her body," the all-important prayer and incantation "to control the hotness and poison" of the fire had to be pronounced lest the mother's body be "swollen or burned." Sāi took raw rice, salt, and alcoholic liquor[36] in her mouth, chewed them, and sprayed them over the fire and over Dūan's body three times, saying "Spirit of the Fire and Wind, may both mother and baby be cool and happy!" and murmuring her secret formula with ancient Pali words about "great fire" and "death."[37] With the shoulder cloth (sabaichiang) that she always wore to the temple draped diagonally over her left shoulder and under her right arm, Dūan knelt and faced the fire. Praying for happiness to the Mothers of the Fire, Fire-floor, and Wind, and finally to the Lord Buddha, the Holy Brotherhood of Priests, and the Sacred Law, she bowed, hands clasped, and touched the floor three times with her forehead. Then she rose and lay down on the plank with the holy fire on her right side.

846 [757] [853] As Dūan was resting quietly, Sāi made three "taping fruits" (lūk prakhop), balls of tamarind leaves, phlai, and salt wrapped in cloth. One was put well up between Dūan's legs to cure the birth wound (phlē). The other two were set aside for use on subsequent days. Sāi painted the baby's tongue with alcoholic medicine, and from her fingers dropped a little honey and boiled water into his mouth. Then she laid him on his tray on the floor close by Dūan, on the side away from the fire.

787 827 With satisfaction of a job well done, Sāi and Lek sat together for a quiet chew of betel. "Lek," said Sāi, "has it occurred to you on what a good day this boy has been born? It is a Saturday, so he will have power. Nothing, nobody, can hurt him! Once I delivered a boy on that best

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36. Alcohol was heating; rice, strengthening. Salt appears to be drying.

37. The deities addressed were mæ phra phlōeng and mæ phra phai. Another Pali-Thai magic formula to control fire was: "Phra Mōk Khan Lē Mō will extinguish the fire from hell, na mō phut thā ya." Phra Mogdallana, one of the two most faithful disciples of Buddha, caused the fires of hell to go out (cf. Anuman Rajadhon 1961:137). The na mō...etc. was a traditional phrase to prevent spiritual dangers and is a repetition of the names of the Buddha in five incarnations, past and future (cf. Textor 1960:483-485).

844 In view of the stake of a child in the successful outcome of his own birth,[39] under what circumstances might a child not be helpful? This was explained by merit (bun) and habit (khoei).

Merit

• 782 828 761 844 Since merit, gained through virtuous behavior, determined a person's character, circumstances, health, and longevity, the merit of mother and child set the course of childbirth. It will be recalled that persons who lacked merit because of previous sins were cruel, lived short lives, and had to endure suffering, while meritorious persons enjoyed success, kindly natures, and long life. Yet an outwardly fortunate person might be at the point of merit-exhaustion, when suffering commenced. Any mother who suffered greatly lacked merit. In one case, "7 babies of a woman died young while the eighth and subsequent ones lived, proving she had to suffer greatly to work off some misdeed in former existences. She was given the trouble of bearing and feeding the child, and the child did not have enough merit to grow up, and so to feed her in return." Her punishment was to bear non-meritorious children who could not live. A woman's premature[40] death in childbirth was caused only by her own lack of merit.

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[171] 39. By way of contrast, consider how parturition is pictured in the United States. The active role is played by the midwife or doctor, or some other outsider, who "delivers," i.e. "liberates," the child from the womb, or frees the mother and baby from one another. "A child is born" presents the child as completely passive; in "to have a baby" the mother is relatively so. The most active English renderings are "to bear a child" and "to give birth to a child." It is noteworthy that modern anaesthetics have tended to increase the passivity of the mother.

40. The idea of a natural term of life was described in the Visuddhi-Magga: "The Karma that caused conception has ripened to a termination, although the dependence for continuing the series constituting the term of life be not exhausted. Death by the exhaustion of the natural term of life occurs when the span of life, the nutritive powers... proper to any given grade of existence come to an end..." (Warren:252).

1: Hanks E-5 (1953-1954) 1964 AO7 Central Thai AO7

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A midwife or doctor could not be blamed, unless it was felt they did not help as much as they could have.

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A child lacking in merit died. Such individuals, for some reason, did enough at their own birth. Words of comfort to a surviving mother were, "your baby did not have enough merit to live." If particularly sinful, it died after making delivery unusually painful. "Once a child was born dead, but it teased the midwife by moving its legs a bit. Consequently, its death was not the fault of the midwife." The child's lack of merit was proved by its death and its maliciousness. There was no hostility towards any child born in a hard delivery, for if both mother and child survived, the demerit that caused the suffering was the mother's.

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On the other hand, a meritorious woman with a meritorious baby had a short, easy delivery. Such a child was considerate: "he will not hurt his mother, will help her to bear him easily, and will live."

A woman who safely came through childbirth felt deep satisfaction and new security. Bearing a child in itself did not bring any merit, though it was an act of merit. Merit could come later with the ordination of a son. However, why one woman had successful or short labor, and another not, was unequivocally clear and accepted. If delivery were normal, she was confident of her and her child's store of merit. If not, she bore the anguish, convinced that she had brought it on herself in some previous life. Since sins were worked off with pain, every thrust made her future lives happier. Fear was minimized, for if death came, it was merit-determined.

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retreat (ōk phanaā) in order that her child would come out (ōk) more easily. Here none sought to divide the worlds of the natural and the supernatural, or to mark off "imitative magic" from the "learning by example of the natural world." A stronger influence came from more powerful agents, so that the effects of the Buddhist temple carried greater effect than the actions of a mere neighbor. Yet any like influence was of aid, especially in a verbal similarity. Thus, an event occurring on a Friday was apt to be auspicious because the Thai name for Friday contains an element identical in sound (though etymologically different) to the word for happiness (wansuk=Friday; suk=happiness), and for the fortunate status of true adulthood (suk=mature, ripe).

Stability in a Floating World

In explaining why some children were "born easily and were easy to raise" (liang ngaā) certain persons simply said, "They were born into the right family. Those born to the wrong family usually die." In defining the "right" family, merit, habituation, and helpfulness converge.

Most families were thought to live together as a group in life after life. In view of the separateness of souls, how was this brought about? The key lay in the conviction that people who made merit together met in future lives. Since most merit-making was undertaken as an enterprise of the nuclear family, sometimes with close kinsmen and friends, they would find each other. Some of the eagerness of friends to help (chuai ngān) with cash or labor was in order to meet in later lives. These persons were used to each other, used to helping each other, and so might marry. Thus, if they lived rightly, the nuclear family, maybe with an infusion of beloved old friends, expected to carry on in the next existence. Although a family's prosperity proved its merit, and its wealth facilitated making more merit, continuity in time was not limited to the wealthy. Proof that a couple had been married in a previous life lay in the birth of a boy as first born. Such a couple was known as a "khū" (pair), and divorce was held to be highly unlikely.

How did a child find its "right" family? After whatever necessary stay in purgatory, the khwan soul of a deceased member roosted in a tree near to its old home, then flew into an accustomed womb. One recalls the start of the blessing (p.48), "Come, khwan! Come my own child!" A woman hoped that the khwan was one previously born to her. "A couple lost its first child. Later the wife was fearing for the life of their sickly second-born." The husband said, "It is according to your sin and merit. If the child is your own child, he will live with you. If not, he cannot."

761 Since only meritorious children were born into the
775 "right family," they were helpful and so easy to raise. The
593 easiest to raise were reincarnations of babies deceased in
829 the mother's present life. "A girl of three died. Her father
• 782 dreamed he was at her coffin. She asked for water which he gave her, then brought her home. Months later a boy was born, so easily raised up that people knew it was a reincarnation of that girl." Here amiability and the change to male sex demonstrated merit. In another tale, "a woman lost many babies at birth. Her husband, thinking it was the same child trying to be born to that mother, marked the forehead of the last deceased baby. His surmise proved correct, because the next baby born had this mark on its forehead."

This assumption that a woman's children were born to her over and over led to a measure of control over the cooperativeness of the child in the womb. A child trained to "good habits" became a meritorious adult who, when reborn, would of course "help" his mother in childbirth. It was advisable to set one's own child into paths of proper behavior, for he could be born again to a descendent, and in all likelihood to oneself.

On the other hand, families were not closed groups. "Like a leech that sticks in one place, then goes to stick somewhere else, so a deceased person may be reborn somewhere else," said a priest. The marriage blessing stated, "May angels, not criminals or beggars, reincarnate as your children." Thus was explained why upright parents might have a disobedient, roaming child. He had roamed into a new family which perhaps he had met during a pleasant casual visit to them in another life. If he did not stay home to make merit with his present family, a wayward child would roam out of it as easily as he came in. Here was the ultimate danger in visiting around too much.

761 Because all individuals lacking in merit died off at
593 birth, some of whom because they got into the wrong family,
782 a selective process continuously weeded out the extremely
[163] non-meritorious so that those who were born usually survived. In fact, Hauck's figure of 90.6 live births (1956:33), the percentage of total pregnancies shows how many meritorious babies were born to the right family!

852 The Winnowing Ceremony

844 This ceremony, described in Dūan's tale, was usually
774 performed shortly after delivery, though it might occur anytime during the first three days of a baby's life. The child, placed on the tray (twins were laid together or separately) was claimed by the mother or the father, who

before completing these obligations, the parents lost out on their anticipated reward (cf. L.M. Hanks, 1962).

Since waywardness (pai thīao) was considered a continuous threat, magical means were taken at the moment of birth to ensure that a child stay close to the family that raised him. The blessing following the winnowing ceremony invoked immovable things: the post, the cat that traditionally never roamed far, the pumpkin that sat and fattened:

> "...Stay at home like the bottom of the house post. Watch the house like a cat. Eat and stay here! Never leave home. Be fat and heavy as the ash pumpkin..."

The most important binding actions utilized, or brought the child into physical contact with, objects long associated with family, in particular the house and land. The umbilical cord was cut on earth or phlai dug from the house-land itself with a bamboo "knife" sliced from one of the deeply sunk house posts. Of these "the knife is the important thing." The phlai also had medicinal purposes. With a feather "from the mother's house" the baby's navel was smeared with cobwebs from a spider whose web indicated long undisturbed residence. They buried the placenta either under some large old tree that stood near the house, or under the house stair. The old family winnowing tray, old clothes, and well-used family possessions were used first before any new furnishings were purchased for the baby. A fire of sakāe wood grown on premises boiled the water for the baby and mother, and heated the mother. Sakāe "was planted when a house was first built so that every generation of occupants would have it available for use at confinement" and also for firewood at other times (cf. McF. 834). All these binding rites assured that the child being rooted to a home terrain, would not wander frightened, and so "would not cry." He also would be at home to participate in the merit-making that would reconstitute the family in another existence.

If a child were born away from home, how was this bond to his locality established? On one to two occasions when the child was born at the Minburi Health Center, Hauck (notes, 195[illegible] observed a solution to this dilemma. The mothers returned home, as was customary, within a few hours of delivery and were established by their respective fires. Their babies were winnowed and laid on their trays with the usual auspicious book, pencil, and needle. Neither tray held any bamboo, clod, nor phlai, however, for these had not been used. On one tray, though, was laid a steel knife from the kitchen, mute proof that a family cutting instrument ought to be there. On another occasion, a father asked to be given his child's placenta so as to bury it on the house site. In so far as possible, people in Bang Chan tried to carry on the old rites.

562 delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become
[827] the milk of the breast."[48] Nursing a child was the essence
[853] of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 In a wider context, not only all their household members
462 but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture:
252 women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally
264 helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor houshold, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,49). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample
[082] merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave
[431] continuously and took little. Women usually offered the
[796] early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When
593 age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned
888 to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

562 A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed
857 inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly
[291] differentiated in babyhood,[49] by age 3 a hard-to-handle
[593] skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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[822] 48. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phūm, and tham khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

[856] 49. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:127).

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156 (riak khwan). Theirs was an augmented personal potency[55] in nurture not unlike the mana so widespread in the Asian-Pacific area.[56] The best midwives were liang di, though not all liang
[159] di were midwives. This societal peak was not an unattainable ideal. In the community, certain women were pointed out as liang di and some of them recognized in themselves the validity of this title.

562 The association of rice, motherhood, and khwan now stands
774 clear. Rice made suk by cooking over a fire, was the essential
776 food not only for the body but for the khwan. Growth and life
262 depended on the nourished khwan. Rice came from a maternal figure, the Rice Goddess, Mae Phosop (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1960). Human mothers, too, when made suk, gave suk nourishment: the milk of the breast was merely transformed rice. Whenever rice was eaten throughout human adulthood, the Rice Mother continued her nourishment, for in each grain was a bit of her khwan, nourishing to the human khwan. The rice-bowl and ladle, used in many a ceremony, stood for the maternal care given a human khwan, and by extension, personal care throughout life. Whenever the rice bowl with offerings (khwan khao: soul-[of]-rice)
[782] was presented by a parturient or by a sick person, loving care comparable to maternal care was being requested.

182 The idea of re-birth, of a fresh start within the pure
885 area encircled by the holy cord, with auspicious words and
846 consecrated fire, was deep in every life-cycle rite. The
562 particular circumstance of the fire of parturition was a forthright cooking to bring out and increase a woman's
372 essential femaleness, to transform her from a youthful, partial giver into a complete, mature donor of nourishment. Such was the satisfaction of women in this female role that many said they would like to be reborn as women. Few wanted

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55. Anuman Rajadhon (p. 134) reports that in India a newborn girl needed no ritual paraphernalia to keep away spirits because "her sex...is a protection in itself, and spirits cannot come to bother her." This was close to Bang Chan's idea of female potency.

56. Cf. "Mana" (E.R.E. VIII:375) for a quick run-down on a definition of mana.

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sacred books were inherited by males.

In the light of this definition, only the 2 or 3 males were true professional midwives. They gave elaborate annual ceremonies of homage to their teachers (wai khrū) attended by all the persons who had profited from the teacher's magic that year. However, all the male midwives were also fully qualified mō. Their ceremonies were large because they were dedicated to the teachers of their curing powers as well as midwifery.

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The male midwives, then, were in a somewhat different category than the females. They were mō who had, in addition, trained their hands for midwifery as an "extra specialty." Midwifery seems to have been one of the few areas where skilled hands were considered of greater importance than magic. "We have no magic for delivery," said one male midwife, knowing that nothing but merit could guarantee success. Because they had access to the incantations for element and spirit control, and could make holy water, the midwife-mō could spare the parturient the necessity of getting in an outside mō, if such were needed. However, one part of the midwife's job the men could not do. To protect their male powers of invulnerability they were forbidden to wash the woman's clothing. A woman or a female midwife always had to do this. Men also could not provide the female "mystique" particularly related to the khwan and to growth.

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However, the community did not adhere to this narrow definition of professionalism, for several of the experienced and competent women, Buddhist and Muslim, behaved as professionals and were accorded the title of mō tamyaa. Their magical formulae, being congruent with their female office of promoters of growth and life, were especially effective. Like a mō they received the ritual gift of the khwan khaw, hallmark of the possession of occult formulae, which the patient presented to assure the benefits of magical knowledge.[68]

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68. This ritual bowl of rice and offerings was never excused even between the closest kin. If forgotten or misused, the "teacher" punished the midwife with pains, and had to be mollified with a food offering. The magical benefits could not be withheld once the khwan khaō had been accepted. It was not accepted if the patient were too near death to be assisted. If the patient died, the whole gift, cash, rice, and all, was given at once to the temple to make merit.

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by instruction from a ritually[71] approached teacher. "One cannot accidentally learn. One has to ask to be taught." As a practitioner in this field, the title "mɔ̄" signalized expertise; where teaching was involved, the title was khrū (teacher [McF. 183]) or ācān (professor [McF.990]). Speech was the key to this tradition, in spite of sacred books and wall-carvings in the temples.[72] Modern education, being book-and-teacher based, shared in this aura. There, even today, listening is more comfortable than reading.

Techniques of the practical, natural world were learned not by teaching but pragmatically by observation, example and experience. Eyes were the key. "I know because I saw," said a midwife. At the highest level of achievement in the natural world one was expert (nak), e.g. convict (nak thōt, an expert in being punished) a tourist (nak thiao, an expert in roaming around).[73] Within the natural world, an intense pragmatism reigned always emphasizing visual phenomena. People were keenly

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71. To speak ritually one held in the hand the trio of incense, flowers, and a candle. This was the way to cross over from the profane to the sacred world, to inform (bɔ̄k) or make a request of, a sacred being (a teacher, priest, king, or deity). The tiny flame of the offering invoked holy fire, and so had the effect of making one's words compelling, for no one could gainsay a request under such circumstances. A husband about to deliver his wife held incense, flower, and candle in hand as he requested the help of ancestors and spirits. (Bishop Pallegoix saved the existence of his mission by thus approaching the King [Pallegoix, Vol. 2:201]). The trio of offerings, whether at the 4 corners of the lying-in fire-floor, or in "hat phlī krathong" at a "than khwan" rite, or even in an ordinary khwan khao made all actions and words compelling.

72. Because words, immaterial and invisable, lay at the base of occultism, words as continuous agents of power permeated Bang Chan's ordinary daily life. This was why words, verbal play, and punning initiated action: pregnant women attended the monks' "coming out of retreat" (ɔ̄k phansā) so that the child would "come out" (ɔ̄k) easily.

73. It should not be forgotten that most activities in the supernatural world had their technical sides, and the term "nak" was used there too. A curer had to learn his herbs; a dancer, his steps; and a master of ceremonies, the words of the chants.

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An old woman summed up significantly 2 attitudes saying, "In the old days people made more merit and so lived longer, but because we had no hospitals, the children died younger." The relation of good health and longevity to proper religious and moral behavior was fundamental in Bang Chan. If merit did not suffice, medical attention, traditional or modern, could not prolong life. Children, however, were tender (ɔ̄n) and easily prey to sickness. Traditional care could help them, but being delicate and tender like city people, children could also be helped by modern hospital care.

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Between the 2 systems people sensed little conflict, for each patient made a preliminary diagnosis of his symptoms and sought the type of assistance his diagnosis and convenience indicated. Mɔ̄ with some knowledge of both systems might offer their patients a choice of remedy. With the right diagnosis, magic, and medicines, a quick cure was expected. If not forth-coming, people were disappointed and moved to another specialist for his help. Modern medicine merely took its place as one more recourse.

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The basic handicap of modern medicine was that it had no magical resources or holy water. "Its effectiveness is limited to the properties of the ingredients." Old medicine on the other hand had, in addition to these properties, "The strength of the mɔ̄'s incantation plus the power of every person who learned and used that incantation, back to the time of its discovery, centuries ago." Thus where the medical schemes offered the same specialty, as in fevers, bone-setting, or obstetrics, the old appeared to offer more resources.

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Besides its deficiencies in magic and strength-making attributes, modern medical care had other drawbacks. First, it was not accessible. A trip to Bangkok for medical purposes involved far more time than a day. Minburī's Health Center was a feasible trip, even for a woman in labor (stays ranged from 6 to 24 hours). Home arrangements for tending children, feeding buffalo, and other chores were less demanding. Bang Chan's eagerness for local modern care was shown when a Bangkok physician visited Bang Chan for a few times as part of a nutrition study. He was besieged with private requests for medical advice. Secondly, modern medical care was expensive. In Bangkok, after the expense of getting there, taxis, food, and housing costs for accompanying relatives, hospital, and doctor's fees sometimes meant losing the family gold and even land. Minburī's costs were closer geared to farm income, but medicines appeared costly. "Modern drugs taste and act better, but the poor have to use the old." Third,

759 the slight differences in ministrations. "The Muslim mid-
795 wife massages more than the Buddhist." The women easily
844 entered into reciprocal courtesies. The Muslim woman knew
57 the steps in the Buddhist winnowing ceremony and performed
852 them as desired. One Buddhist mother dispensed, however, with the winnowing "because the midwife was Muslim." A Buddhist woman made up the khwan khāo in the fashion specified by the Muslim midwife and participated in the latter's teacher-rite.

795 Certain fundamental ideas of the Muslims led to rein-
779 terpretations of familiar Buddhist terms and activities.
774 "Khwan" referred to the soul, but with no implication of reincarnation. "Bun," meaning "merit" to the Buddhist, meant charitable giving in the sense of tithes, for Islam
782 prescribed that a portion of one's income be given to the poor. On the other hand, the Muslims had taken over many
177 Buddhist practices: for one, the acceptance of Buddhist holy water as a cure for spirit attack.

795 Completely Muslim was the stress on physical and
783 moral purification as an objective of every rite, and conversely, the prevalence of the idea of defilement.
304 "Circumcision is to cleanse the body before growing up," it was said. Muslim mortuary rites were elaborate pro-
764 cedures for purification. When a Muslim baby died, the Buddhist midwife said, "The body was cleaned before
831 burial," implying thorough measures beyond his ordinary experience. Procreation was viewed as dangerous and
834 contaminating. The behavior that hid sexual phenomena at the same time by constant prescriptions kept sexuality
562 much more in mind. Muslims separated males from females, for example, at feasts. No Muslim male ever became a midwife.

795 The events surrounding childbirth illustrated the
843 differing viewpoints between Muslim and Buddhist. In the
844 seventh month of her pregnancy, a Muslim woman called on on her chosen midwife, and gave her a gift of betel pepper leaves and areca nut to assure her services (fāk thong: to deposit gold). On returning home, she went as
273 fast as possible "to insure fast delivery." Since Muslims frowned on liquor, their medicines were made up of hot-tasting spices in hot water. Yet one Muslim mid-
795 wife prescribed large doses of liquor before and during
844 parturition. For labor and delivery, a Muslim was stricter about utilizing the privacy of the small enclos-
562 ed room, if there were one, while in the Buddhist household "it could be anywhere" in the house. Muslim men, except for husband, brother, or father, were excluded from the scene. The Muslim khwan khāo contained "7

The Muslim khwan khao contained " 7 items"--a young (or ripe) coconut with its water; thread or "a skein of yarn"(used not to tie in the khwan but "for the teacher"); 7 pieces or areca nut; 7 betel pepper leaves; one "heavy" (15 gram) yellow wax candle; one "bag" of incense; rice; and 30 haht in money.[78] The khwan khao was not offered with the idea of its reaching phra In (Indra) ultimately, but rather the local princely spirits of the land, chao thi, chao thān, and Mae Thoranī (Mother Earth). It was waved 3 times by the midwife over the abdomen of the woman in labor with the prayer: "Spirits of the land, Mother Earth, may the delivery be easy!" The khwan khao was then placed at the mother's head. The woodpile was knocked over so as to point to Mecca, which was west, a direction avoided by the Buddhists. "When nearly ready to deliver, a Muslim midwife turns the mother's face in the direction where the family's hens hatch their chicks. If they have no chicken, then in any direction."[79] If delivery were slow, a Buddhist mo was called to "shift the mother to new places" until the baby came out.

Muslim women lay post-partum by a fire for the usual physiological reasons. In making up the fireplace, instead of a cluster of incense, flowers, and a candle, this purely Hindu-Brahman-Buddhist trio, they sprinkled salt "to keep away evil spirits" on the dirt at the corners. Salt, oil, or alcohol was spewed over the fire and the woman's body, or only magic was recited, "to control the poison of the fire." "Of these, salt is best," said a Muslim midwife, but "whichever a midwife used first has to be continued for the rest of her life as her way of doing things, because the habit has been started that way." The Muslim magic for controlling the fire was "om ming om fun om fai sawa hai." "So be it, stove, rocks (or mountains), fire, be cool, may a blessing rest to you," though "om" is the Pali-Buddhist "mystical word." The placenta was not put in a pot beside the fire, but was washed by the midwife several times until perfectly clean, then was mixed with salt and buried in the dirt directly under the fire. When the fire was finally destroyed, the placenta was dug up, washed again, and immediately buried (not in a pot), with the

78. There was some evidence that the thread and incense were included only when a Muslim midwife was delivering a Buddhist woman.

79. To the Muslims this was an act of imitative magic. The Buddhists saw the action of a setting hen as a quick source of information for the parturient's orientation. The hen always avoided the direction of the phi luang (Textor:378).

FOOD IN CONNECTION WITH FESTIVITIES AND CEREMONIES

262 A discussion of food habits in Bang Chan would be in-
796 complete without some description of ceremonies ((l)ngaan)[1] which dominate the village scene during the dry, post-harvest season. These events are of interest in connection with food habits because of 1) the prominent place that food occupies in them, 2) the cultural significance and relatively large cost, both of which must be taken into account in any plans for dietary improvement and 3) the possible influence of differences in food habits at the ceremonial season and of problems of sanitation incident to large-scale food preparation on the nutrition and health of village residents.

796 The season for ceremonies and festivities opened with the harvest rites to the Rice Goddess and closed with the beginning of Buddhist Lent in mid-July. The big occasions were cremations, ordinations into the Buddhist priesthood, weddings, and rites for cutting of the topknot[2] or homage-to-the-
527 teacher.[3] Smaller family celebrations might mark such events as the raising and dedicating of a house, the return of a son from the army, or even public events such as the completion
264 of a road or a bridge. Whatever the focal activity, a gala meal was served first to priests and then to guests.

• [782] Offering food to priests brought merit, which ensured happiness in later rebirths (see p. 9). Because the greater the number of priests served, the greater the merit, people were spurred to put on as large an affair as they could
[554] afford. Moreover, a person was judged throughout the community by the abundance and quality of the food served daily and
527 at festivities. Thus, there was reason to make a (l)ngaan
796 as opulent as possible, but celebrations of every degree occurred in Bang Chan, from lavish feasts to simple ceremonies.

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[196] [461] 1. Significantly the same Thai word is used for work and for ceremony.

[302] [591] [835] 2. Topknots, formerly worn by all Thai children, used to be cut ritually at the time of puberty. In Bang Chan, the growing of a topknot had become primarily an attempt to improve a child's health. Few school age children wore topknots. They were usually cut earlier than puberty.

[575] 3. A person who had received specialized knowledge from a teacher gave thanks annually in a ceremony, to which those who had profited by this knowledge were obliged to come and/or contribute. Thus, all the patients of a traditional medical practitioner helped him to honor his teacher.

796 The actual ritual of these ceremonies did not take a great deal of time although it was important. Most of the
[876] time and effort went into preparing and serving food. Even a small celebration involved cooperative effort among relatives
• [782] and friends. For every event, the Buddhist altar in the home was decorated and offerings were made to the house-spirit. A
764 big cremation might require planning in detail for years ahead:
796 invitations to priests and relatives in distant parts of the
574 country; hiring an orchestra and obtaining ceremonial gear.
533 For the largest events, when the guest lists ranged upward to
[428] 60 or so priests and 400 other guests, one borrowed the hundreds of trays, dishes and bowls owned by the temple. No rental fee was charged for these, but such items had to be returned the next day, clean, and damaged articles replaced or paid for. As the day or days drew near, boat-loads of fresh provender were bought at big markets, and organized cooperative cooking went on under the direction of a competent person,
[252] usually one of the "professional" cooks of the village. The
[476] day before one ordination, 33 women were seen preparing vegetables, fish and soup; 13 others were making 7 kinds of desserts; about 50 others of both sexes were at different tasks, the men in particular cooking Chinese noodles, grating coconut, stirring, stoking fires. The picture was one of rows of stoves, pots so large they were stirred with a boat paddle, buckets of sugar, eggs by the hundreds, a hired generator to run a mechanical coconut-grater. On this occasion two meals were served. At another splendid (1)ngaan, the priests were fed three meals, other guests up to eight meals, over a period of two and one-half days. Workers had received additional meals beforehand.

[262] The banquet comprised rice and many dishes not met with in daily fare: Chinese noodles; "with-rice" dishes of several kinds, rich in fish, meat and vegetables: for example, fried chicken with internal organs, garlic and pepper; fried pork with mung bean; (2)mii (a fried vermicelli) with fish, vegetables, and a tomato sauce; many different desserts made of eggs, rice flour, glutinous rice, agar, coconut and coconut milk, sugar, sweet potato, dried green beans; flowers served in syrup, fresh fruit such as watermelon; ices and coffee.

128 In Appendix A, p. 102 is a list of foods bought for an
262 annual homage-to-the-teacher rite. It is the nearest approxi-
796 mation to a quantitative record of food for a ceremony that
895 the research group obtained. The prominence of purchased foods, especially of flesh foods, is noteworthy.

264 On the great day, the priests were served first, either
796 at 7 a.m. or 11 a.m., or both, always at least in part by the
792 host, who sat and chatted with them. No one else ate until

the priests had finished[1]. The trays of food from which each guest served himself were bountiful, but it was not proper to eat very heartily, lest the host suffer the shame of running out of food. If there were a dramatic show or movie at night it was open to the public. In one case 2000 people attended. At that time eight commercial venders turned up to sell coffee, soft drinks, ices and other foods. Venders came to every large ceremony, and were heavily patronized. At the end of a (1)ngaan, the sponsors felt satisfaction and security. Where there was plenty of food to take home, the success was even greater. An earthy compliment was, "the fields were full of feces."

In addition to the banquet were ceremonial offerings of food to spirits and ritual food sometimes consumed as a sacrament. For each ceremony, appropriate selections were made from a specific list: a cooked pig's head, or at least a slice of cooked pork; two kinds of sweetmeats, red ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (1)daeeeng) and white ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (5)khaaw); a cooked fish, usually (1)plaa (3)chauaun, with its head and tail; a green coconut with its coconut water; a bunch of bananas either of the (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa or (3)kluaj (4)nam varieties; a hard-boiled egg, usually duck; and liquor.[2] Other kinds of sweets, fruit, sugar cane, items for betel chewing, chicken, salt, and rice might appear. As these ceremonies were thought to be auspicious, purifying, therapeutic and protective, they were most elaborate at the great (1)tham-(1)khwan (soul-strengthening) ceremony, at house-raisings and at rites to local guardian spirits. The necessity of these ceremonies explains why when public structures were raised, a portion of the public funds were used for a repast. In Bang Chan when donations for a new school

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1. Other priorities in service might be observed; for example, at a celebration preceding ordination the priest-candidates were served next. At one small affair, when 11 priests came to a home to conduct a service for a disabled old man who could not go to the temple, this elder was served after the priests, then the research group who counted as visiting dignitaries, and finally the other family members, with the women who prepared the food, and the children, eating last. The general sequence prescribed by etiquette was: priests should be served before anyone else, old before the young, the males before females, persons with high status such as teachers and ceremonialists before low, urban before rural. Those who cooked and served came last of all. When the number of participants was large, guests might be served, as they arrived, over a period of hours.

2. The presence of meat, fish and alcohol is this ceremonial food reflected non-Buddhist elements in Thai culture, and should not be viewed as a gross violation of Buddhist precepts.

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In Bang Chan when donations for a new school
264 building warranted buying the foundation materials, so that
476 volunteer labor was solicited for their installation, some of
946 the money went into food, despite additional donations of food. This was in no way misappropriation. Helping to cook was as important as helping to dig the holes.

782 The spirit-offering, or the portions eaten by a partic-
264 ipant as a sacrament, were actually tiny bits of each food. Afterward, the entire lay-out, pork, sweetmeats and all, was eaten. Because all this was holy food, it was felt to be especially strengthening, so was usually given to children, but might be eaten by family members and occasionally, priests.
262 The pork was cut up and eaten with a hot sauce, or put into a
262 "with-rice" dish. It was especially appropriate with liquor.

262 The use of food ritually was not limited to the ceremon-
755 ial season nor to big events. The same purposes underlay the
852 use of a hard-boiled egg eaten in the ceremony that was designed to restore a child "sick from temporary loss of its soul," and in another performed in order to wean a baby.

43 The benefits of a (l)ngaan accrued to every participant
554 down to the last worker and contributor according to the degree
796 of assistance. With status in this and in later lives at stake, no one hesitated to plunge into debt or even to sell land. For the sake of economy two different ceremonies might be performed on the same day, for example a child's topknot cutting at a daughter's wedding.[1] The saving was in time and expense for food preparation, but such multiple ceremonies were performed less often than one might expect.

796 One assistance in the financing was that every invited
476 guest made a contribution, customarily 5 to 10 baht, which
435 helped defray the costs. In 1952, household heads reported these contributions as totalling from 30 to 1,000 baht, with an average of 343 for the year (Janlekha, 1955). Of 96 household heads who provided information on special expenses during the 5-year period March, 1948 through February, 1953, 36 had given (l)ngaan with net expenditures (costs minus contributions) ranging from -10[2] to 15,000 baht. The average net cost was 4,361 baht (Janlekha, 1955). These figures might represent a single (l)ngaan or several events.

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1. Every desired ritual could be carried out at little cost. Thus a priest-candidate whose father was dead, was included in the pre-ordination festivities planned for a friend; and on one occasion five bodies were cremated at the same ceremony, which was sponsored by the kin of one of the deceased.

2. The -10 meant that contributions exceeded the cost.

concerning its culture and use. Tilapia culture was learned largely by trial and error, and was considered primarily as a source of extra cash. If it had been regarded also as a means of improving health through increasing the family's food supply, and if the homemaker had been shown how to use this unfamiliar fish in familiar ways, the outcome might have been different. Increased use of fermented fish and of small dried fish which are eaten whole, should be encouraged. So long as the ability of human beings to adapt to such low calcium intakes without harm has not been proved, any feasible means of increasing the calcium content of the diet seems worth trying.

More home consumption of eggs would be desirable, but their ready sale and acceptability for barter may present an obstacle to increased home use. Increased production would probably lead to some increased home use at least at the peak season. Duck eggs which are less often sold, might be stressed both for this reason, and because of their greater size. The idea held by some that eggs are not good for children nor for pregnant women should be countered when possible. Since hard cooked eggs have many ceremonial uses, they might be presented as "strengthening" food. Hard cooked eggs, which could be prepared the night before, would be convenient as breakfast for workers who would otherwise go to the field without food, for lunch to be carried to the field or to school, and for occasions when parents are to be away from home, as at a ceremonial, and should leave food at home for children.

Milk, as canned, dried or malted milk preparations, was considered an appropriate gift for the priests, who are forbidden to eat solid food after the 11 a.m. meal. Some of this may be shared with the temple boys. The respected old ladies and others who stay overnight at the temple on the Buddhist holy day, and who observe the same rules as the priests for this time, also like to drink milk, often with coffee. Perhaps the wat committee could be taught how dried or canned milk should be reconstituted, and could direct that this be done. They could both spend some of the cash offerings for milk and encourage those who buy gifts of food for the priests to include milk among them. People gladly bought food for the priests and would probably accept on the authority of the head priest or respected elders, the idea of buying certain foods of high nutritive value, even though these cost more. If a small group of leaders, such as the wat committee or the hamlet headmen were instructed in the dangers of contaminated water and the values of good food, with the implication that the best available should be offered the priests both daily, and on ceremonial occasions, improved practices might spread to home consumption, since most food is prepared in the home.

The importance of merit making and the relatively large cash expenditures involved in ceremonials, will probably influence acceptance of any improved practices which involve cash outlay. If some leaders were interested in dietary

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essentials not atypical of the region. Instead of villages being organized administratively on the basis of natural social groupings and demarcations—that is, social centers and groups with which people feel a primary identification, in Bang Chan's case the local Buddhist monastery and government primary school—so that governmental and social units are isomorphic, they are gerrymandered into highly arbitrary administrative units. Thus the village of Bang Chan is comprised of seven *muubaan* or hamlets, at the head of which are seven hamlet headmen; these hamlets are located in two different *tambon*, or communes (four in one commune, three in the other) headed by two commune headmen, neither of whom lives in Bang Chan; the two communes are located in two different districts headed by two different district officers and their staffs; the two districts fortunately are in a single province, Phranakhoon, the same administrative unit in which the metropolis of Bangkok is located. Yet the people who reside in these varying hamlets located in different communes and districts all perceive themselves as living in the single village of Bang Chan. The fundamental organizational problem here is that since the sources and lines of governmental authority do not follow the lines of the natural Bang Chan community, jurisdictional conflicts and confusions arise to threaten the effectiveness of those community-wide programs that occasionally may be initiated. For example, during a diphtheria immunization campaign in the village (Hanks and Hanks 1955), the public health officer from one of the district offices was reluctant to immunize all the children of Bang Chan on the grounds that some of them came from hamlets outside his district's jurisdiction; he yielded, as the Hankses note, only when a perceptive villager pointed out that if germs knew no boundaries why should he?

Not all villages of the Central region have such real or potential administrative difficulties. (And Bang Chan does not have them too frequently either, principally because the government does not initiate too many community service programs.) However, the basic organizational principle which admits them—that houses are grouped together as administrative "villages" on the basis of conceptual neatness rather than socially functional criteria—is a common feature of the administrative structure of the Central Plain.

The foregoing account describes some basic culture patterns which Bang Chan shares with other villages of either the region or the nation. In addition to these broader patterns, Bang Chan has certain traits which inevitably refer to local village conditions and contingencies. For example, the most active and viable social unit in Bang Chan beyond the familial level is the order of Buddhist monks associated with the monastery. It is the only organization within the village that has been successful in mobilizing community activity (Sharp *et al.* 1953), although much of this activity has

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been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

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a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.* Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

* There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost a Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily the Bang Chan Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

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These assumptions about the indeterminate nature of the universe and human actions are so integral to the villagers' cognitive orientations that Bang Chaners often hesitate to make even the most elementary kinds of prediction. Thus, in asking a village lad how he felt about his older brother's forthcoming ordination, I was told, "I don't know." The tone of his reply indicated that he was not evading the question, so I pursued the matter further: "Well, do you feel happy about it? Do you wish you were being ordained together with him?" He answered: "The ordination is not for another three days. I do not know how I will feel at that time. But when that time comes I will know." In another case, I was going up the canal with a villager to attend a "Kathin" being held at the monastery. (A "Kathin" is a fiesta-like merit making ceremony sponsored by a person or group of persons from outside the village at which new robes are presented to the monastery monks. It involves the sponsors, their local hosts, and all villagers who wish to attend.) Although not necessarily an annual event, "Kathins" are held often enough at Monastery Bang Chan so that this villager, who was also a member of the monastery lay committee, was thoroughly familiar with every aspect of them. Simply to make conversation, I asked him: "What is the 'Kathin' going to be like today?" to which he replied, "I do not know. I have not been to the monastery yet today." Assuming that his past experience with "Kathins" provided him with some knowledge of the goings-on, I went on: "Well, do you think there will be many people?" His answer: "I do not know. You never know what a situation is like until you meet it. I have not met this one yet today."

The point of these various illustrations is that they represent a psychological universe of uncertainty and unpredictability. And in this kind of universe—where one hesitates to build up sharply defined expectations and where one is forever aware of the mutability and frailty of the environment—it is not unusual that there should also be a high tolerance for interpersonal nonconformity. What the actual limits are, theoretical or empirical, to this tendency to nonconformity are uncertain. Much of the nonconformity is undoubtedly made possible, in the first instance, by the sociologically simple and relatively undifferentiated nature of Bang Chan society; that is, the actual number of functionally specific tasks and roles—those that require special competencies—are few, and any number of different individuals can perform them. Thus, when a Bang Chan employee walks out on his boss or when a wife walks out on her husband, their actions do not from a functional point of view disable the system. Since the requirements of the role of house servant or farmhand are characteristically simple and understood by all, the departing employee can usually be replaced by another individual. Similarly, since any adult—aunt, grandparents, older sibling—can and often does rear another's children, and

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Chan. However, there remains the crucial question of how villagers manage to develop the long-term relationships that they do have, for despite the inevitable unpredictability of all human contacts, most Bang Chaners do live together in family units for more or less sustained periods of time, fathers do save for years in order to give their sons respectable ordinations into the monkhood, relatives and friends who have not seen each other since childhood do assemble for the cremation of a late kinsman or mutual friend, and mature adults do continue to feel a profound sense of respect and obligation to individuals who were their teachers when they were youngsters. What are the bases and rewards for these enduring interpersonal commitments?

The immediate rewards for these commitments are, on the one hand, quite apparent. They involve such things as the simple, unrationalized kind of love found among any group of kin or close friends. In the case of the ordination and cremation, there is the reward of making merit, not only for the son and the departed soul, but for all those who sponsor and participate in the ceremonials. The satisfactions gained from increasing one's social prestige by putting on an ostentatious ceremonial are not to be overlooked either. At a more subtle level in the case of the respectful student, the reward is gained from knowing that one is behaving in a proper and courteous way toward one's *ascaan* (in its social psychological connotations, similar to the Indian term *guru*) and is thus upholding established normative patterns. The rewards of maintaining the rituals of the moral order are not to be glossed over for Bang Chaners, like most Siamese, are a deeply ethical people. This is not meant as an evaluation of their behavior or as a statement of their capacity to conform to their ethical prescriptions, but simply as a statement of their preoccupation with ethical concerns. The rewards of *feeling* (genuinely or self-deceptively) that one has behaved in an ethically and ritualistically prescribed way are among the most satisfying of sentiments, although as indicated in the discussion of "social cosmetics," villagers often use the rituals of ethical behavior as substitutes for more demanding interpersonal involvements. Indeed, the great emphasis given to the performance of ethical rituals (speaking in soft and gentle words, honoring one's mentors) helps perpetuate the loosely structured relationships found in the community in that conformity to these rituals is perceived by many as comprising the fulfillment of their interpersonal obligations. Beyond this they are free to pursue their own interests. To a large extent the ritualistic forms serve as a comforting psychological justification for the pursuit of individualistic concerns, *i.e.*, "But I otherwise treat others so nicely." [80] This is not the result of conscious

[80] In one of his more recent and typically penetrating works, Goffman (1963) coins the terms "Involvement Shields," "Main Involvements," and "Subordinate

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114 156 171 571 status differences and the looseness of social ties loom considerably in Bang Chan probably makes for some other structural variations.[22] However, as stated below, Foster's formulation applies almost perfectly to Bang Chan (1173-1176):

> The model appears to account for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status, between people of different statuses, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings as well. Although my analysis deals only with Tzintzuntzan, I think the model will prove useful for other societies with similar structural features . . .
>
> Briefly it is hypothesized that every adult organizes his social contacts . . . by means of a special form of contractual relationship. These contracts are informal, or implicit, since they lack ritual or legal basis. [This is not completely true for Bang Chan. There is, for example, a special "Teachers' Day," sanctioned by the national government, set aside for honoring teachers, and thus providing ritualistic reinforcement to the contract.] They are not based on any idea of law, and they are unenforceable through authority; *they exist only at the pleasure of the contractants.* The contracts are dyadic in that they occur only between two people; three or more individuals are not brought together. The contracts are noncorporate, since social units such as villages, *barrios*, or extended families cannot truly be said to enter contractual relations with other families, although spouses often honor the obligations inherent in each other's contracts.
>
> The implicit dyadic contract is made between members of a family as close as siblings [and in Bang Chan, as close as husband and wife, and parents and children] . . . ; and it unites neighbors and friends. Contracts are found between social and economic equals within Tzintzuntzan or with similar people in other communities. And they are found between people (or beings) of different status and category, as on those few occasions when outside political leaders or economic patrons have ties with villagers and when a villager invokes the aid of the Virgin Mary or a saint. [In Bang Chan, a functional equivalent of the latter would be when villagers propitiate the *caw*, or Spirit Lord, who resides in the *San Phra Phuum*, or house of the Guardian Spirit of the home. This is a replica of a house, about the size of a bird cage, located in every house lot in Bang Chan. The offering of rice and flowers to the *caw* is explicitly a form of payment to him for the use

[176] [782] [778] [782]

[22] A second paper on Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1963) indicates that there are some crucial motivational differences as well, viz., Bang Chaners enter into dyadic contracts with a much greater sense of freedom than do Tzintzuntzeños. Their attitude is both more cavalier and cold-blooded than the Mexican peasant who feels that if he is to exist, he has no choice but to enter into these contracts. The Bang Chaner is animated by a sense of personal advantage; the Tzintzuntzeño by a sense of passive participation in a system he cannot change.

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of the land upon which the human home is built. In effect, humans have temporarily "rented" the land from him.]

. . . [The] contract implies and is validated by reciprocal obligations . . . [In] its totality the system of complementary reciprocity validates, maintains, and gives substance to the implicit contractual networks. The symbolic meaning of exchanges (as contrasted to economic and other functions) is accepted without question by all villagers: as long as a person continues to give to and receive from a partner, he is assured that the particular relationship is in good order. *When an exchange pattern between two people terminates, it is overt evidence to both that the contract is dead,* regardless of the formal institutional ties or the religious validation which may, in theory, continue to bind the participants. [Italics added.]

In anthropological analysis it is customary first to seek and attempt to identify the factors which link human beings together rather than those which keep them apart. This is so much a part of our professional tradition—in effect, one of our "primitive predicates"—that we tend to gloss over the question of the extent to which people must have enduring interpersonal commitments. This question has not been pursued in precise detail in our discussion. However, the realities of Bang Chan social behavior are so weighted in the direction of atomistic and essentially non-relational considerations that any coherent discussion of them should be organized in approximately equivalent terms. It is for this reason that the bulk of our presentation has focused on the individualistic nature of the villagers and that the factors accounting for interpersonal linkage were left to the end. It is hoped that such an organization has accurately reflected the tone and quality of Bang Chan social life as it is encountered and felt by an outside observer trying to understand its meaning to those who experience it.

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the part of older people.[12] Particularly obvious is the absence of any reference to accumulating Buddhist merit. Neither is there any reference to the pleasures derived from dealing happily or enjoyably with other people. The closest we get to this is with the responses of two informants who are concerned mainly with the welfare of their children, and who speak in terms of "inspiring respect" in their children or assuming the role of "doctor" who, either by his knowledge (in case the children are ill) or wealth, could take care of them. Given all the conceivable things that villagers might wish to be—fanciful, real, personal, social, of this world, and of any world—the dominant wish is to have status, wealth, and respectability within their prevailing peasant context.

The next item, "*Most of all he wants to . . .*" is essentially a confirmation of the above findings. However, perhaps because of the syntax of the Thai version of the item and the inclusion of the word, "most" ("*The thing which raw wants the most is* (*namely*) . . .") the responses assume a considerably more extreme and "unimodal" form. The overwhelming majority of the informants, 77 percent, want only one thing: money. A few of them say that they want what are essentially cultural variations of money: property, rice fields, land, cattle, and jewelry. Several of them almost wax purple about the significance of money in their lives: "*The thing which raw wants the most is* (*namely*) . . . have money and gold, because money can help us all the time. Whatever one wishes to have, one can use money to buy it all. Even when one wants a wife, if one has a lot of money one can have anyone's daughter"; ". . . have money. Money is better than anything else. It is only the moon and stars that money cannot buy"; ". . . to have money. She wants money very much because when she lacks other things she can find something to take their place, but when she lacks money she is most unhappy"; ". . . have wealth because everything else comes after that." These responses, of course, explicate the major function of money. They indicate that money is not an end in itself, but a means by which to achieve some of the other life goals appearing here.

The minority responses to this item are in no case held by more than four individuals. Four villagers do give religious responses, saying that what they want most is to accumulate merit (one mentions both merit and money); three refer to maintaining the welfare of their families (one of them merging money and succorance by saying that he wants enough money to provide for his family); and four say that they want happiness (again, two of them linking money and happiness together).

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[12] There is nothing in the grammatical-semantic structure of the Thai version of this item inhibiting a religiously oriented response. The Thai cognate for the verb "to be" here is "*pen*," which could easily result in a response such as ". . . *pen khon thii mii bun*," or ". . . a person who has merit." This would be the most obvious "religious" completion under the circumstances.

125 29.d. IF R HAS SONS 20 AND UP: Of your sons over twenty, how many have been ordained as Buddhist priests, or not?

[793]	7. DA	212
[593]	A. None	22
[792]	9. One	58
[162]	X. Two	25
	Y. Three or more	16

e. Do you have any sons under twenty?

	9. Yes	188
	X. No	108
	— No Answer	37

[793] f. IF YES: In future, do you want your sons under twenty to be ordained as priests, or not?

• [782]	Y. Yes	186
	O. No	—
	— No Answer	2

g. IF YES: But aside from your admirable desire to have them ordained, in your true heart how sure is your expectation? Are you very sure or not very sure, or fairly sure that they will be ordained?

	1. Very sure	140
	2. Not sure	26
	3. Fairly sure	12
	4. Unascertainable	9
	NA	1

h. All over Thailand there are some Thai men who are over 50 but have never been ordained as priests. For what various reasons might this happen?
(See code at end)

[461] 30. Suppose there was some work you could do individually, or that could be done in a small group of two or three, or that could be done in a large group. Which way would you prefer to do the work--as an individual, or in a group of two or three, or in a large group?

	8. Individually	60
	9. Small group	55
	X. Large group	202
	Y. Undecided, depends	4
	0. Unascertainable	12

[572] 31. Around here in HC-KY there are some people who have many close friends and there are other people who have few close friends. And how about yourself? Do you have more close friends than most people around here, or about the same as most people around here, or fewer close friends than most people around here?

	5. More than most	62
	6. Fewer than most	94
	7. About the same	154
	8. Unascertainable	23